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50X1-HUM

A. Present Conditions

The facts which should be recognized and accepted by the democratic countries, under the US leadership, are as follows:

1. Capitalism and Socialism Cannot Coexist

After reading and understanding the ideas of Marx and Lenin on the subject of capitalism and socialism, one can easily see that the two systems can never coexist without conflict. When a Communist joins the party, he is required to give up his freedom and, if need be, his life, to carry out the duties assigned to him. A Communist is pledged to fight against imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism. His mission is to change the existing society into a Communist society wherein each person labors to the best of his ability and receives according to his need. World revolution is imperative for the development of socialism.

Yet the crafty veteran strategist Stalin has come out to say that the two opposing ideologists can coexist, at least for some time to come. That, we know, is only paying lip service to a false peace offensive. During these 5 years of the cold war, the Soviet Union has adopted a realistic approach toward the US and Britain to gain the necessary valuable time to prepare for war. However, many people in the US as well as in Britain are hoping that by appeasing the Soviet Union and by giving it small advantages and security guarantees, they may induce the Soviets to abandon their plan of world revolution.

On the contrary, the Soviets are more determined than ever to carry out their plan to destroy all the free and democratic countries since they have strengthened themselves considerably during these quiet years. Britain and the US must see clearly the significance of the present world crisis and immediately define their long-range objectives. A life-and-death struggle has begun which will result in the destruction either of the Communist world power or of the democratic powers. Current US indecision and lack of policy, together with rivalry and self-interest among other democratic countries, is not merely a grave error, it is a suicidal error. The time has come for the US and Britain to make their momentous decision.

2. Nature of the Struggle

The US and Britain should clearly recognize the present situation in China. To describe the struggle as that of Communists against Nationalists, or Chiang Kai-shek against Mao Tze-tung, is no longer appropriate. From now until 1953, it may be termed the struggle between the "new" and the "old", the new society against the old society, the new culture against the old culture.

Political changes in China in the past were confined to changes in political personalities; the social system was not affected. The people were not concerned about the fight for political power as long as they were allowed to live unchanged in their own way. But the present revolution under Communist leadership has changed all that. The struggle is no longer rivalry for power between Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tze-tung, nor between the Communists and Nationalists. It has become a class struggle with Mao representing the propertyless class and Chiang representing the properties class.

Even after the resignation of Chiang last year, the Chinese Communists continued to fight. They justified their action by saying that the Kuomintang, representing the properties class, was still wielding power and providing opposition. Their reasoning is only superficial; the truth lies beyond that. Let us assume for a moment that Chiang represents the properties class and would be able to organize the peasants, the workers, the soldiers, the students, and the merchants to combat Communism by following Pai Chien-sheng's (2) plan. Let us assume that he finally succeeds in annihilating the Communists. Would the Kuomintang then be able to exercise complete control? It is not likely.

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL**CONFIDENTIAL**

CONFIDENTIALCONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

The unpleasant facts are that Chiang represents neither the Kuomintang nor the propertied class. He can only claim to represent three people -- Ch'ien Li-fu (3), Ch'en Cheng (4), and himself. The real struggle then would be between these three persons and the propertyless class represented by Mao. There was definitely no struggle between the two classes as claimed by the Communists. Long ago, Chiang lost contact with the propertied class, which he supposedly represents. All his actions and pronouncements were made without seeking any popular support or advice. Even if the people wanted to help, they could not find any way of reaching him. The obsession of Chiang, Ch'en, and Ch'en was to enslave the propertyless masses in China. The struggle was not for enslavement of one class by another class.

After the downfall of Chiang and the liberation of China proper by the Chinese Communists, the propertied class began gradually to realize their feeling, their basic purpose, and their potential power. (In the propertied class, the writer includes all the landowners in the rural areas, and upper- and middle-class farmers; the educated classes, merchants, labor groups who own above-average property, the upper and middle group of cadres in the military and political establishments in China, as well as right-wing elements in the Communist Party, and those people between the ages of 35 and 60 who have conservative ideas.

Why did these groups welcome the Communists? To analyze it, we must consider some historical facts. In the old Chinese society, there was very little organization. In their thinking, the people considered themselves first; they paid very little attention to their neighbor's affairs. The Chinese are individualistic, and possess a great deal of patience, particularly the moderately propertied class; but if oppression becomes harsh and unbearable, they will rise spontaneously, without any organization, to throw off their oppressors. These groups welcomed the idea of throwing off the Kuomintang. They were impressed by Communist propaganda for democracy, freedom, respect of private property, and the rights of merchants and labors. They were further convinced, by the good discipline of the Communist troops, that their desire to save their own lives and properties might be realized. Hence, they welcomed the Communists.

The results reveal their bitter disillusionment. Now the wealthy landowners have to work; the merchants are bankrupt; the rich are becoming poor; the poor are becoming still poorer. The families of military conscripts are living on grass and stalks. Yet the Communists accused the KMT of arbitrary oppression! Under the Kuomintang, although taxation was multifarious, burdensome, and often unjustly administered, there was relatively little interference with the people's freedom of movement or speech. Under the Communists, all clothing, food, daily activities, and housing are rigidly controlled. All conversations and movements in or out of the villages are watched carefully by the cadres.

The propertied class and others have not only lost faith but have realized their hopeless position. At present, they are standing between the positions of "regret" and "will to recover." Although potentially very powerful, they lack central organization and leadership. Today, they are still hopelessly waiting in every village and hamlet in the nation. All those between the ages of 35 and 60 who have had some education under the old society or who maintain the traditional family structure, are potentially the members of a "third force." Although these groups repudiated Chiang Kai-shek, and welcomed the Communists with open arms and high hope, they are sinking into a position of hopelessness after realizing the true Communist programs. Many are willing to risk an open rebellion.

But the third force, as a party under Li Tsung-jen (5), that could lead these multitudes, is not yet formally organized. In the meantime, these people are enduring hardships, deprivations, and extreme mental anguish as they see all their hopes and their former way of life systematically destroyed. We must

- 3 -

CONFIDENTIAL**CONFIDENTIAL**

CONFIDENTIALCONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

assume the moral responsibility of organizing a third party at the earliest moment and give leadership to these elements in our society. By so doing, we will give them strength and hope to build a new China.

The Americans have frequently announced that they will strengthen the "democratic elements" in China as a step toward solving the problems of China. They must now realize that the critical period has arrived. All over the country the people are calling for Li Tsung-jen to sound the battle cry. They want a rallying point to fight the Communists, to recover their property, and to build an independent, democratic, and free new China. Li is an intelligent, liberal, tolerant, and capable man. Those qualities are known to all the people in China. Legally, he is the vice-president of China. The people have lost all faith in the Kuomintang and have had enough of the Communist program; they will turn naturally to Li for leadership in organizing a third party. They hope that the US will give Li moral support.

Many blind followers of Mao Tze-tung have praised Mao's greatness, social consciousness, and initiative. But they do not realize that the people, jealous of their own class interests and desires, started the struggle and chose Mao to lead them. It is necessary for him to represent the people correctly to retain their support. At present, a very large segment of the population in China falls within the ages of 35-60. All in this group have had some of the classical teachings of Confucius and Mencius and have lived in accordance with the cultural tradition of China. But the Communists completely disregard the feelings of this group. The Communists are trying to change the middle-class way of thinking overnight into a proletarian way of thinking. All accustomed ways of life and daily habits are to be forcibly changed to a new life under a new society. Probably, this is humanly impossible. These thousands of people are potential counterrevolutionaries.

This is the group that Li must organize, together with other parties, into a third party whose aim is to resist the Soviet Union and destroy Communism in China. There is no one in China today who is more qualified than Li to assume such leadership. Such a leader must possess three qualities: a political background; greatness, alertness, and a thorough knowledge of military as well as political affairs; and prestige at home and abroad. Who else but Li can fulfill the requirements?

As a matter of duty, Li should make himself available immediately to lead these groups and organize a third party. Marx, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao were able to lead the propertyless class in successful social revolutions because they represented and could identify themselves with the needs of that class. Li should not refuse the demands made upon him by the people. The capitalist countries, under Anglo-American leadership, should give Li moral support.

3. Organize the Third Force (Third Party) Immediately

The third party, after its initial organization, should cooperate with Chiang and avoid further discussion of ousting him. The downfall of Chiang was a foregone conclusion in my mind. Chiang's high point of prestige was when Japan surrendered. After that, his popularity gradually fell. I predicted his downfall. Wang Fang-t'ing (6), Wang Chin-yu (7), and Ch'en Kuang-ming (8) will attest to my prediction.

As to the situation in Taiwan, it will be determined by military liberation and not by any political or economic factors. Li should have stood firmly on his legal rights as vice-president and assumed the full responsibility of the presidency when Chiang resigned. On the other hand, he should have announced publicly his intention of supporting Chiang whenever the latter chose to return. It is to be hoped that Chiang may profit by his mistakes.

- 4 -

CONFIDENTIAL**CONFIDENTIAL**

CONFIDENTIALCONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

There were three unfortunate incidents in connection with the Li-Chiang relationship.

a. The several American announcements stating the policy of not interfering with China's internal affairs certainly did not help the cause of "aid Li against Chiang." The CC Clique has indirectly retained Republican sympathy in America.

b. All troops in Taiwan are directly controlled by Chiang. The return of Li to Taiwan depends on Chiang's whim. Other Kuomintang senior members, although disliking Chiang, do not have the courage to come out and support Li. Chang Hsiang-hua (9) is a good example.

c. The apathy and the contempt of the people toward internal disunity in the KMT rendered the vigorous support of Li an impossibility. In my opinion, Li should forget the past, swallow his pride, and renew his efforts to carry out his duty in cooperating with others. The third party should be organized quickly. It should start the life-and-death struggle with the Communists instead of wasting precious energy in avenging a wrong.

4. Meaning of the Success of International Communism

The US must understand that the success of Chinese Communists is tantamount to the success of international Communism and the beginning of the end for capitalist countries.

The success of the Chinese Communists represents only their initial success in the military field. They have not undertaken to solve the basic and complicated problems of economics and politics, nor have they come to grips with those who live by the old social order, such as the class that is herein advocated as a basis for organizing the third party. They will have to face the million-and-one detailed problems in a complex society. There will be unavoidable dissension and dissatisfaction, since the Communists are unable to do what they expected in a short time.

On the other hand, we must recognize their ruthless methods, their organizing ability, and their strict police and control methods. They have, of course, violated all the teachings of Confucius and Mencius on human rights. It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to change overnight the deep-rooted culture and traditions of an old social structure. The Communists are trying to destroy the old society and replace it with an entirely new one. They want to fit Soviet dunce caps on all Chinese children. Opposition to such a program will undoubtedly be widespread. We, therefore, must formulate our stand and utilize our class strength to fight our enemy and the so-called propertyless class now in control.

We must not miss this favorable opportunity to organize our compatriots before we, as a class, are systematically and individually destroyed. The best period to fight the Communists is before 1953. Within these few years, a third party under the leadership of Li Tsung-jen should ready itself to fight. In my opinion, the next 3 years will be the most critical for the Communists, since they will be facing all types of difficulties. If a third world war does not start during that time, victory will go to the new order in this struggle between the new and the old in China. The Communist social revolution will become a success.

I believe that, after the liberation of Hainan, 300,000 of Lin Piao's (10) troops will come north to assist 600,000 of Ch'en I's (11) troops in the invasion of Taiwan. The Soviet air and sea forces will assist in the battle. By July or August 1950, Taiwan will certainly be liberated, unless there is a sudden reversal of US policy toward China, with military aid sent to Taiwan.

- 5 -

CONFIDENTIAL**CONFIDENTIAL**

CONFIDENTIALCONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

After completing their military operation, the Communist will have gained great confidence and pride. Their land-reform program will be vigorously pursued while their economic and political policies will tend more toward the left. Soviet advice will be closely followed. After a rest, the points of tension will be shifted toward South Korea, the Philippines, Indochina, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, and India. The independence movements of peoples in these areas will be exploited. However, the Soviet Union is not quite ready to start a world revolution.

The Chinese Communists have dreams and designs of southward expansion but they are unwilling to risk war for it. Their political moves in Southeast Asia are calculated to harvest the maximum advantages while avoiding the danger of being involved in a war. Only by doing this will they be able to reconstruct their home industries. Next year [1951], the Communists will push the double-tracking of the Peiping-Hankow-Canton railway. This year they must finish the railway line from Sian and Lan-chow to connect with the Trans-Siberian line. When the Southeast Asia areas have been sufficiently intimidated, the Soviet Union will launch a so-called peace offensive. The Chinese Communists will offer some commercial inducements to Britain or Hong Kong in the hope of splitting the Anglo-American alliance.

At the end of 1952, the countries in Southeast Asia, which have large overseas Chinese populations, will gradually have been liberated. By that time, the potential counterrevolutionaries in China will either be liquidated, sent off to border areas or to Siberia, reformed, or placed in concentration camps. The able-bodied men, the laborers, the farmers, the peasants who acquired land through land reforms, the educated, the literate youth, the 6 million regular soldiers, and the 5 million militiamen will be under the firm control of the Communists. The 475 million Chinese and 200 million Russians will be in a position to sweep through south Asia and India and take over the Middle East, Iraq and Turkey.

The second step of the Soviet Union will be the invasion of Western Europe. By that time none of the land mass in Asia and Europe will be in the hands of the democratic countries. Would the capitalist countries start to fight the Soviet Union then? I would say that 1951 should be the "victory" year for the capitalist countries. The secret preparation behind the Iron Curtain will not all be complete in the next one or two years. The capitalist countries should initiate the next war and strike before their opponents are fully prepared. The industrial and economic power of the US is colossal and decisive, but the manpower of China and the Soviet Union combined is also powerful and decisive. That is the important reason why one may say that the success of the Chinese Communists is the Soviet Union's success. It can mean the ultimate annihilation of all democratic, socialist, or capitalist countries in the world.

B. Platform of The Chung-Yung (12) Party of China

1. Foreign Policies

Independence, freedom, peace, and equality for China are the basic political principles advocated by the Chung-yung (Middle of the Road) Party. We support and seek to cooperate with other capitalist countries under Anglo-American leadership. Since China is technically and economically a backward nation, we need material and financial support from those countries to develop industries and economic strength. In turn, we will provide the world's largest market to absorb products from those countries.

In the political field we should associate ourselves with the US and Britain without any reservation. We know that a wealthy and strong US will have no ulterior political motive or territorial design on China. Furthermore, would

- 6 -

CONFIDENTIAL**CONFIDENTIAL**

CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

Britain, with her democratic, independent, and well informed 50 million islanders, try to oppress our 475 million Chinese? China should have full confidence in both the US and Britain in regard to their political and territorial motives. In dealing with foreign countries under Soviet influence, we should demand the same equality and confidence. As to political dealings with the Soviet bloc, we should maintain a sound attitude and treat each case individually without following any broad principles.

2. Political, Economic, and Cultural Principles

We all know that China is retarded in technical fields. To develop our economy, we must change from an agricultural to an industrial nation by utilizing all the assistance that other countries can give in the form of technical skill and equipment. We advocate the study of political democracy of other advanced countries with the view of future adaptation into our political reform work, or for reference purposes. To follow other methods blindly is a mistake. Chang Kuan-li's (13) idea of political reform is definitely wrong.

We believe that political and social reforms in China must be based on the tradition, history, and wisdom of China. The teachings of Confucius and Mencius should be consulted. The traditional teachings and ideals should be retained as much as possible if they are not in conflict with the times. Many may be discarded. The idea of blind loyalty and absolute obedience to one's parents, for instance, should not be kept. Our principle for building a new China is that of utilizing and improving our own political principles revealed in Chinese history while, at the same time, learning from the scientifically advanced nations.

In the economic sphere, we advocate the overthrow of corrupt monopolistic and bureaucratic capitalism; but industrial and commercial enterprises must be allowed to develop freely. The government should help and not restrict business enterprises.

In land reform, we advocate the overthrow of wealthy landlords but protection of the rich farmers. Rich farmers are a stabilizing force in our rural economy. Most of them achieved such status by hard work and thrift. We encourage wealthy landlords to liquidate their wealth down to the level of rich farmers, but we do not advocate total confiscation of their wealth.

In the cultural field, we advocate the teaching of the great Chinese culture and philosophy of the past. On the other hand, we must devote considerable time to the study of natural and physical sciences of the West. Our society should be based on our old Chinese culture and supported by all the sciences of modern times.

CHARACTERS

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|--------|--------|---------|
| 1. 張飛熊 | 5. 李宗仁 | 10. 林彪 |
| 2. 白健生 | 6. 王芳庭 | 11. 陳毅 |
| 3. 陳立夫 | 7. 王金钰 | 12. 中 庸 |
| 4. 陳 誠 | 8. 陳光明 | 13. 張冠李 |
| | 9. 張向華 | |

- E N D -

- 7 -

CONFIDENTIAL

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